ADJOURNMENT MOTION.

All Travancore Students' Federation.

MR. N. NARAYANA KURUP: Sir, I move that the business of the House be adjourned for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely the deep sense of public dissatisfaction at suppressing the legitimate and elementary right of association of young people of schools and colleges into a federation, ban imposed on them by the education authorities and by the arrest and imprisonment of the President and Secretary of the Federation.

As we all know, Sir, the All Travancore Students' Federation, was started at a time of very great political fervour and unrest in our State. Some of the students in certain colleges and schools were assaulted by the police on certain imaginary reasons and some of them were also punished by the educational authorities on the allegation that they expressed their views on live political matters. Therefore, the students thought that their privileges and certain rights were curtailed by the State and the educational authorities. They thought it also desirable to organise themselves into a federation, as we find in other civilised lands, to establish their rights; and the federation was started.

Even though the Government had the power to declare any association as disloyal and subversive at that time, they did not declare this federation as disloyal and subversive. Yet the educational authorities, who used to encourage, help and insist on the students to associate and discuss on live questions of public interest, for the formation of character and development of debating power, imposed a ban on the Students' Federation by saying advising and commanding that no student should join the said Federation. The said illegal ban strengthened the organisation and regular propaganda was going on. It was at that time that the President and the Secretary of the Federation were arrested under some pretext or other. This method of suppression of the legitimate right of association of students has caused very great public dissatisfaction.

Sir, I am one of those who endorse every word of ripe educationists like the Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Dr. C. R. Reddy and other eminent Indian leaders such as Mahatmaji and Pandit Jawharilal Nehru, that active participation of students in politics is baneful to their progress and in most cases will do lasting harm. But that does not mean that we should take away their legitimate right of association study and discussion of current political problems. I believe that they have every right to express their opinion on current politics one way or the other. Even in England, when Irish Home Rule and the question of women's vote were live political questions, the students were allowed to discuss and form their opinion, in the Oxford and Cambridge Unions. That, at any rate, did not lead to the downfall of the British Empire.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

PRESIDENT: Does the honourable member mean to suggest that in England or in any other country in Europe, any student was ever allowed to address any public meeting, or even to be present at a public meeting where politics was being discussed?

MR. N. NARAYANA KURUP: All that I am able to say is that the students were not denied that privilege; and they were allowed to discuss political questions in the Oxford and Cambridge Unions.

Certainly Sir, the ban is very unfortunate as it synchronises with the foundation of our University. One thought, naturally the University Act was in a certain sense, a charter of liberties to young people within certain limits. But the action of the Government and the educational authorities gives the lie to that hope.

The ban has made the situation worse. I am reminded of the old Biblical story of the forbidden fruit. There is always that tendency in human nature to do what is forbidden, if it does not affect the purse or person. If only Satan had asked innocent Adam to pluck the tempting fruit, the chances were that he would never have left a legacy of sins. Young people when they were forbidden to meet into a Federation, infringed that rule. Thus the ban has affected their character and discipline. There is no use of complaining that the discipline has gone, after having worked for it.

Sir, I am afraid that this ban is fraught with very great future. If young people grow up in an atmosphere in which they have no faith in the impartiality of their teachers and in the sense of justice of the Government of the land—that becomes the seed-bed of real revolution. Experience of Russia, Turkey and Egypt may make us wiser.

I therefore bring to the notice of this House that there is considerable public dissatisfaction at the suppression of the rights and privileges of students in our State and that the Students Federation may be recognised. With these words I move the motion for the acceptence of this House.

MR. KAINIKARA M. PADMANABHA PILLAI: May I know from the honourable member the nature of the ban which he seeks to be moved, and its author.

MR. N. NARAYANA KURUP: I am not in a position to answer the question, Sir.

MR. KAINIKARA M. PADMANABHA PILLAI: Has any such ban, as has been referred to by the honourable member, been imposed on anybody? We want that information before we discuss this motion further.

PRESIDENT: The honourable member is entitled to ask that question; but the other honourable member is not bound to reply.

MR. K. G. KUNJUKRISHNA PILLAI: At least the Government can tell us whether there is such a ban, so that we may know on what basis we have to proceed with the discussion.

MR. KAINIKARA M. PADMANABHA PILLAI: We would request the President to ask the Government Benches to enlighten us on the point.

PRESIDENT: The motion before the House is to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the deep sense of public

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

dissatisfaction, at suppressing the legitimate and elementary right of association of young people into a federation. I presume that the honourable member who moved the motion is suffering from *that* "deep sense of dissatisfaction". I also presume that he has enlightened the House as far as he could. If he has, the House is in a state of enlightenment; if he has not, it is in a state of non-enlightenment. That is the position.

MR. M. SIVATHANU PILLAI: Are we to take it that the mover has nothing to offer by way of enlightenment?

PRESIDENT: I shall not allow the honourable member to cross-examine the mover. It is open to them to say that, not withstanding the efforts of the mover, the point has not been elucidated.

I shall any how call upon Mr. Chandrasekaran to tell you something about it.

MR. M. SIVATHANU PILLAI: Can I not put a question to the mover of the adjournment motion?

PRESIDENT: Oh, yes.

MR. M. SIVATHANU PILLAI: I would like to know from the mover whether there is any ban; if so the nature of such ban and the author of it.

MR. N. NARAYANA KURUP: In reply to that question I may say that the educational authorities of the State are the best authorities to answer that question.

MR. M. SIVATHANU PILLAI: I would like to have full details about the ban referred to by the mover, so that we can participate in the discussion.

MR. C. V. CHANDRASEKHARAN: Sir, about three months ago, an application was received in our University office, which requested that an organisation which was called the All-Travancore Students' Federation might be recognised by the University. We called for details regarding the constitution of that Federation, its membership, its rules and proposed activities. We received a printed pamphlet from which it was seen that it was contemplated as an organisation for both college and school students. We also noted that the person elected as President of the Federation was not a student at all, rather, he had been expelled from the College and his case had been reported to the Madras University for action by that University.

At a meeting of the Syndicate of the Travancore University, the question of the recognition of this 'All-Travancore Students' Federation' was considered. The honourable member Mr. Kainikara Padmanabha Pillai is a member of our Syndicate, and Mr. Govindan, a member of the State Council, is also a member of our Syndicate. Both these public men were present at that meeting of the Syndicate at which, after very careful consideration, the following resolution was passed:

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

[Mr. C. V. Chandrasekharan.]

"Resolved that, having regard to the fact that, under the rules of the Federation, membership is not confined to University students but is open to non-students and to pupils of schools, and having regard also to the activities and utterances of the office-bearers of the association, the Syndicate is of the opinion that this association is not conducive to the interests and welfare of students, and regrets therefore that the recognition sought cannot be granted".

The House will readily agree that this is a very mild, a very moderate action on the part of the Syndicate. No disciplinary action was proposed; no penalties were threatened. The resolution was in the form of advice to the students.

Sir, when this resolution was communicated to the heads of colleges and other educational institutions, they were requested not to resort to disciplinary action immediately but to advise the students to keep away from this Federation, to resign from it if they had already joined it. The University did not propose immediately to take any strong disciplinary action; they desired to wait and see what the nature of the activities of the Federation were going to be.

As I said, Sir, the person who was put forward by this organisation as its President was a student who had been expelled from the College of Arts for various offences, offences of a very grave character. In the class room he shouted all kinds of objectionable political slogans; and when the Principal suspended him until further orders he rushed into other classes, harangued the students there and asked them to come out with him. He circulated chits to the students, written in his own handwriting, asking them to go to their classes but not to answer the roll-call or take notes, but to non-co-operate with the lecturers. As I said, he was guilty of very serious breaches of disciplinary rules. Naturally, he was expelled. Sir, it was such a person that was elected as the President of this Federation.

Subsequently, this President enlightened us on the objects of the Federation. He said that the main objects of the Federation were—this has appeared in the Madras Mail—"to crush the Travancore University which was bound to have no status among the other Universities in India, and to plead for a reduction of school and college fees"

It is rather an anti-climax; because, if he succeeded in crushing the University, the question of fees or its reduction would not arise at all. Sir, to be fair to Mr. Basheer Mahomed, he subsequently published a statement in the Malayali and some other papers contradicting what I just now read and stating that he did not say anything like that. But the fact remains that he was expelled from the College; and his case is now before the Madras University.

The pamphlet which we received from this Federation has defined the term 'student' under the constitution of the Federation. This is the definition:—

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

"Student' shall mean and include any one (*a*) who is on the rolls of an educational institution (*b*) though having left an educational institution but not more than two years and not having entered into or accepted any specific job or office".

It may be noted that the definition is so framed as to qualify ex-students, and Mr. Basheer in particular, for membership.

Sir, Mr. Narayana Kurup condemns the obscurantism of the Travancore University in having banned the Travancore Students' Federation. I have explained what action was really taken by the Syndicate. Neither the University nor the Government will frown upon a well-organised Federation of University students; because, I feel, as the person in charge of the University, that we are considerably handicapped for lack of a sound organisation which will represent the students, which will stand for their interests, which will promote their welfare. It is easier for the University to deal with students when they have got a sound well-organised body to represent their interests, to voice their opinion. But this Federation is neither fish, nor fowl, nor good red-herring. Sir, to compare the All-Travancore Students' Federation with the Oxford University Union is to compare London to Paddington. The All-Travancore Students' Federation includes a large number of rather excitable school boys. It is obvious that school boys cannot be treated on the same footing as University students. The whole problem of discipline so far as school boys are concerned is entirely different from that of University students. School boys cannot claim the same facilities, the same rights and privileges, as the more mature University students.

To be quite frank about it, Sir, I must say that the University authorities view this so-called Federation with considerable suspicion and distrust; and in proof of this I may mention another important fact.

About a month ago, the representatives of the Federation applied to the Vice-Chancellor and requested that they may be received on deputation. The Vice-Chancellor received them and discussed the matter with them at very great length, and he told them that so far as their own societies and their own students' organizations were concerned they could not only discuss responsible government but they could discuss communism and bolshevism. But active politics and political agitation and demonstration are different matters. They could not have one foot in the College and one foot in political agitation; they could not both be students and political agitators, that study and political agitation were two different things, that if they wanted to be political agitators they must leave the college, that they cannot one day be students and the next day be political agitators. He gave them the assurance that provided they gave an undertaking that they would not take part in political agitation, and that they would not furnish volunteers for the State Congress movement, he was perfectly willing to reconsider the whole matter and see that the Federation was recognised and put on a sound basis. The deputation offered to consider the matter and went away. Nothing more has been heard.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

PRESIDENT: It must be added that the deputation agreed with the Vice-Chancellor and promised a reply in terms of the agreement.

MR. C. V. CHANDRASEKHARAN: Well, Sir, that information is more complete and more accurate; I thank you for furnishing it. As a result of their discussion with the Vice-Chancellor they promised to give an undertaking; but nothing more was heard about the whole thing.

Sir, no responsible political leader would advocate the participation of students in political agitation. Not only Mahatma Gandhi but Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose and other fire-eating politicians have all condemned the exploitation of students for political purposes. And I am glad to find that there is a very strong revulsion amongst the students themselves.

MR. K. NARAYANAPERUMAL NADAR: May I know whether the member is aware that Mr. K. T. Bhashyam and Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose stated that students can take active part in politics?

MR. C. V. CHANDRASEKHARAN: I am not aware, nor do I attach importance to it even if it were true. So far as the outstanding leaders are concerned, they have all condemned it; and Mahatma Gandhi issued a statement particularly for the benefit of Travancore students at the time when the disturbances were going on. I am glad to find that there is a very strong revulsion amongst the students themselves against the way in which they had been exploited for political purposes. There is among them a feeling that they have been acting unwisely; and it is hoped that that feeling will be a sustained one. I would only entreat the honourable members of this House to use their influence to guide the students along the right path.

MR. K. R. NARAYANAN: രാഷ്ട്രീയകാര്യങ്ങളിൽ ഇടപെടരുതെന്ന് ഇവിടത്തെ നേതാക്കന്മാർ വിദ്യാർത്ഥികളെ പ്രേരിപ്പിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതായി അറിയാമോ?

MR. C. V. CHANDRASEKHARAN: I have no definite knowledge that the particular leader called out the students definitely in the open platform or otherwise. But there have been cases in which political leaders and would-be heroes like Basheer Mohmed have been going about arm in arm and getting photographed. I know of an occasion when Basheer was welcomed after his release from jail and when political leaders presided over the meeting and sang his hallelujah and said what a wonderful hero he had become. There have been other cases where some State Congress leaders have been courting the students in various ways.

MR. K. R. NARAYANAN: നേതാക്കന്മാരും വിദ്യാർത്ഥികളും ഒരുമിച്ചിരുന്ന ഫോട്ടോയെടുത്തു എന്നുള്ള കാരണത്താൽ മാത്രം നേതാക്കന്മാർ അവരെ പ്രേരിപ്പിച്ചു എന്ന് പറയുന്നതു ശരിയാണോ?

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

MR. C. V. CHANDRASEKHARAN: Sir, I am not able to understand his question.

PRESIDENT: The question is about the degree of intimacy and political association involved in joint photography.

MR. C. V. CHANDRASEKHARAN: That is a matter of opinion, Sir. But it is a fact that a State Congress leader did preside over a meeting for giving a reception to Mohmed Basheer; and he spoke in glowing terms of his conduct and so on.

MR. K. R. NARAYANAN: തമ്പാനൂർ റയിൽവേസ്റ്റേഷനിൽ വച്ച് നടന്ന മഹായോഗത്തിൽ വച്ച് വിദ്യാർത്ഥികൾ രാഷ്ട്രീയകാര്യങ്ങളിൽ ഉൾപ്പെടരുതെന്നു മി. ജി. രാമചന്ദ്രനും മറ്റും പ്രത്യേകം പ്രസംഗിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതായി അറിയാമോ?

MR. C. V. CHANDRASEKHARAN: I do not deny that certain political leaders have issued pamphlets advising the students against taking part in active politics. But there are other indications also in the contrary sense, and each member must be free to form his own opinion in such matters when there are facts on both sides.

MR. K. R. NARAYANAN: എന്റെ സാന്നിദ്ധ്യത്തിൽ വച്ച് സ്റ്റേറ്റ് കാൺഗ്രസ്സിലെ പ്രധാനികളായ രണ്ടു പേർ ഇപ്രകാരം വിദ്യാർത്ഥികളോട് രാഷ്ട്രീയകാര്യങ്ങളിൽ ഇടപെടരുതെന്നു ഉപദേശിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതായി അറിയാമോ?

MR. C. V. CHANDRASEKHARAN: He is harping on the same point, Sir. As I have said, there is some evidence on the one side that the State Congress leaders do not desire that students should take part in politics; and on the other hand there is stronger evidence, that, publicly or otherwise, State Congress leaders have been cheering students and patting them on the back and showing in various kinds of ways that they appreciate the help which the students are giving them. It is a matter of weighing of evidence on both sides.

Well, Sir, I have really very little more to say. Let me make it clear to Mr. Narayana Kurup that we are not opposed to students' organisation as such. As I said, it is very necessary that university students should have a very sound and proper organisation; and the university authorities themselves will assist the students in forming a sound organisation based on legitimate aims and carrying forward those aims by means of legitimate activities.

MR. N. NARAYANA KURUP: May I know from the honourable member whether the Syndicate has informed the conveners of the Students' Federation that if certain defects are cured sanction would be accorded to that organisation?

MR. C. V. CHANDRASEKHARAN: It is their concern, Sir. The resolution was forwarded to the Secretary of the Federation. If they are keen about their Federation being recognised by the University, it is up to them to cure the defects and come to us again.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

MR. K. NARAYANAPERUMAL NADAR: Sir, I support the resolution. To me it appears that the whole question is whether students can take active part in politics or whether they can be penalised if they take active part in politics. Mr. K. T. Bhashyam in one of his speeches in Mysore, in connection with the State Students' Conference, said, referring to the question of students' and politics, as follows,

PRESIDENT: Who is Mr. Bhashyam?

MR. C. V. CHANDRASEKHARAN: He is coming here to preside over the All-Travancore Students Federation.

MR. K. NARAYANAPERUMAL NADAR: "Whenever the country is peaceful, it is well for students not to take active part in politics."

PRESIDENT: Order, order. Is Mr. K. T. Bhashyam an authority on education, or does the honourable member adopt his language as his own?

MR. K. NARAYANAPERUMAL NADAR: This is a quotation from his speech, Sir.....

PRESIDENT: Which means that the honourable member is reading it as his own sentiment; because generally quotations are made from persons who are regarded as authorities on certain subjects. Otherwise, the honourable member who makes the quotation embodies it as his own sentiment.

MR. K. NARAYANAPERUMAL NADAR: I regard him as an authority on education.

PRESIDENT: I regard him as a gentleman about whom I know nothing and therefore I do not regard him as an authority on education. So, the honourable member may use his language as his own. I do not know who he is. Who is this Mr. K. T. Bhashyam? Is he a graduate?

MR. K. NARAYANAPERUMAL NADAR: I will quote another, Mr. Sarath Chandra Bose, leader of the oposition in the Bengal Assembly who said, on October 20, 1938, referring to the question of students and politics—

> "Students should, in normal times, equip themselves for life and they should be prepared to plunge into the movement for freedom when conditions are abnormal." "You may be a drop in the ocean, but you are a drop that counts and has counted in the past in every other country which has sought to achieve independance."

Now, Sir, the question is whether the conditions in Travancore at the present moment are normal or abnormal. I say that the conditions are abnormal and I therefore congratulate the students of the Arts College and the Science College and the Nagercoil College for having taken an active part in politics. The following will show that the conditions here are abnormal. Firing in Neyyattinkara on the 31st August, at Chengannur on October 1st, at Pangode Forest on October 1st, at Attingal, at the Shangumukhom beach on September 2nd, at Quilon on September 2nd, and at other places.

PRESIDENT: Order, order. The question before the House is about a matter of public importance, namely, the deep sense of public dissatisfaction at suppressing the legitimate and elementary rights of

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

association of students. Therefore, the question of general politics, of firing and of various other matters is irrelevant and will not be allowed in this discussion.

MR. K. NARAYANAPERUMAL NADAR: With these words I support the resolution.

MR. K. G. KUNJUKRISHNA PILLAI: Sir, I beg to submit a few words on this resolution. The resolution consists of 3 or 4 parts. The first part is "the legitimate and elementary right of association of the young people in schools and colleges into a federation". The second part is the so-called imposition of a ban on them, along with the arrest and imprisonment of the President and Secretary of the Federation; the next is the suppression of the same; and the last the deep sense of dissatisfaction at the suppression.

Sir, with regard to the right of association of young people, whether that is an elementary right is itself a doubtful question. There may be legitimate occasion for forming into associations and there may be illegitimate occasions for forming into a federation or association. It is certainly not for the student to decide whether the right of association at a particular moment or for a particular purpose is legitimate or illegitimate. Therefore, Sir, when cries are made that students are not being allowed to associate themselves into either meetings or associations or federations, the question turns upon whether the objects of the association are legitimate or not. Now, Sir, what are the legitimate objects of the association of students? My submission to the House is that legitimate objects cannot and never have been intended to include controversial political matters. I quote a great and eminent authority. It was not in 1920 but only last week that Sjt. C. Rajagopalachari, addressing the students of the Loyola College Hostel said that students should not take part in active politics, and that they should only take a studious part in politics. Thereby what I understand, Sir, is that students of colleges may keep up a lively interest, a keen interest in the problems of life whether political, social, educational or otherwise; they may form into associations, discuss them, invite prominent people of all shades of opinions to give them their opinions and to talk on the matter; and they may study the matter as students. But when they step out of that position and enter the arena of politics, of principles of which there is no ultimate finality, and take part in the day to day politics, I submit Sir, that we must consider, the authorities must consider, and the parents must consider, whether the objects are legitimate. Without meaning any disparagement, Sir, I beg to inform the House that at about the time I was in the Law College there was a wave of sentiment and enthusiasm among the students with regard to what was then called the non-cooperation movement; and I may submit to this House and to every parent and to every teacher that of those students who then got out at least 95 per cent. to-day regret the step they took. They have lost their academic status, and a large proportion of them are not good citizens today and are not useful either to the State or to their own families. Therefore

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

[Mr. K. G. Kunjukrishna Pillai.]

Sir, I say that when there is controversy in politics, when there is heat emanated in political discussion, the students shall not take part. Students are enthusiastic, they are idealistic and are people without a sense of realities. When these students are agitated by political agitators, however eminent or otherwise, the consequences are disastrous. Therefore, I congratulate the university authorities in saying very mildly and very honestly to the students "You shall not overstep the limits. Give us the facts and figures." What is it that the Student's Federation wants? We are prepared to help you to form a sound federation." As Mr. Chandrasekharan said, it will be a help and not a hindrance to the University if it is a sound federation. Therefore, Sir, with regard to the legitimate objects of a federation it is a matter more for the authorities, the parents and other people to say than for the students themselves.

With regard to the particular federation, from what I understand, the President is a dismissed student and some of the objects of the association seem to be very curious. They are not definite and have nothing except an illusory background about them. Then aquestion was put to Mr. Chandrasekharan by Mr. K. R. Narayanan whether the State Congress leaders had asked the students to come into politics. Sir, I can quote instances to show that the State Congress people induced the students to take active part in politics. At Chirayinkil the students were exhorted to get out of the schools. If this is not inducing students to take active part in politics, I fail to see what it is, Sir. There was a meeting in Chirayinkil very recently where Basheer was one of the speakers. He openly exhorted the students to get out of schools. That was the position. Such instances could be multiplied. This is happening in every State Cogress meeting. In fairness to the State Congress speakers, a large number of them have been inviting students to come out of schools and colleges. That I submit is taking very active, destructive part in politics. With the help of idealistic stuff, namely students of the country, the State Congress people are playing a dangerous game. If the Students' Federation is able to approach the University authorities with a clean slate as is done by the Oxford or Cambridge students, or in any other part of the world, if they proceed on that model, I am sure, the University will surely help the Students' Federation in all possible ways. I challenge my friends Mr. Narayana Kurup and Mr. Nadar for the position taken up by them. Or for that matter, I ask the State Congress men to show whether such a sort of federation as is now sponsored exists or is even recognised in any part of the world, from Timbuctoo to Berlin. It is very unfortunate that our students are being misguided by the State Congress authorities.

In regard to the so-called ban what I wish to say is that the University authorities have only advised the teachers and parents of the students to see that their students do not go astray. I say that veryе one of us who have children attending schools must take particular

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

care in seeing that their boys and girls do not go astray. Let them study anything they want, socialism, politics, or even communism or ugenics, on the face of the earth. To say, fundamentally, that the students should join and take active part in the politics of the country, lest this land of Kerala should sink into the sea, is certainly unfair. This sort of exciting students to indulge in stone-throwing, every one of us must resist. We are all anxious to see that the students are properly led.

With regard to the arrest and imprisonment, I should like to get some information from the authorities. From what I understand, Sir, the President seems to have been arrested for action under Section 90 of the Criminal Procedure Code, so that he might not go about the country creating further trouble among the peaceful public.

Then, Sir, in regard to the dissatisfaction prevailing in the country, there are two aspects of the question. I consider that one side of the public can write in papers that the students are oppressed and suppressed. From that point of view, it must be satisfactory to them. To this set of people, it is a matter for great satisfaction for, they know what sort of consequences this Federation can bring out. So far as this particular Federation goes, there are no proper grounds for any sane man, sensible man, cultured man to feel satisfied about its objects. I feel that no responsible man should be misled by catchwords, nor be excited by the principles of political parties at the moment; and I want my friends to study the consequences arising from allowing the students to go astray in the name politics. If the students are permitted to be under the care of the University authorities, they will become better citizens; probably more capable than us in the matter of carrying out policies. Therefore I say to students not to take part in the politics of the country as long as they remain as students, By continuing in such an organisation, they are being encouraged on very unhealthy lines. That ought not to be encouraged. The present Students' Federation organisation is a mere hotchpatch, consisting of students and State Congress leaders. In that hotchpatch, students should never be allowed to join. It is my prayer that such an organisation is not allowed to grow at all. I congratulate the University authorities for not recognising the Students' Federation. With these words, I oppose the motion.

MR. M. L. JANARDHANA PILLAI: Sir, I am afraid the mover has not taken into consideration the feelings of parents who have got children going to school. We have been hearing the history of the Federation. The point is that the University authorities refused to grant recognition to the Federation. The history that was prevailing in this country during the last few months needs no mention. It is very well-known. There are boys who have been studying in different schools in North Travancore, who have left their places and come away to Trivandrum for studies, because they could not carry on the studies, particularly on account of the malicious and perverse influence of this

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

[Mr. M. L. Janardana Pillai.]

association. There are also cases when parents have found it almost difficult to send their children to school, because, the moment the students refuse to shout slogans of this association, the little boys are pelted with stones and kicked and thereby prevented from going to school and were maltreated in a very undesirable way. I ask my friend Mr. Kurup whether this is the sort of thing that should be encouraged? Is this the sort of Students' Federation which my friend Mr. Kurup wants the University authorities to accept? There were days when the so-called federation leaders came to different parts of Central Travancore. The moment they entered particular areas, a few hours before their arrival, notices were circulated announcing their arrival and requesting the people to offer receptions to these leaders. All the students, after hearing about the arrival of leaders, at the appointed time, without the permission of the headmaster or the teachers simply rushed out just because they knew that the leaders had come. What we have learnt was that these leaders definitely asked the students to defy the school authorities openly and to sing slogans against their teachers, and against constituted authority and such of them as did not subscribe to this were illtreated. The students were given the impression that they were under the control of the leaders and not under the teachers or their own guardians. They were given the idea that they were governed by the principles adumbrated by the so-called Federation. They were definitely told that their interests would be safe-guarded better by that organisation. I ask, is this the way in which the students ought to be guided? Is that for the good of the country. And, now, we are here called upon to consider the great disservice done to the country by preventing the students from meeting in a federation. The students were actually spoiled by the activities of the federation. A set of young people of the country have become misguided and ruined by the actions of such people. Is that a situation to be contemplated with equanimity? Are we not also men with children attending schools and colleges? Is this the way for the leaders of people to properly lead the young people of the country? My friend, here again, tries to invoke the support of this House for a state of affairs which could not be allowed in any part of the world. It is only surprising that this House should have been called upon to discuss this question as an urgent matter of public importance; and if the syndicate or the University authorities had not taken this necessary step in the right manner and at the proper time, there would have been wholesale ruination of the students, ruination of their homes. The citizens of the country are grateful to the University authorities for having taken that step at the right moment and in the proper manner.

With these remarks, I oppose the motion.

MR. N. V. JOSEPH: Sir, I have absolutely no hesitation to say that one of worst sins committed and one of the greatest calamities brought upon the country by the State Congress is its having encouraged and

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

incited the student population to enter into active political agitation, and cultivated a spirit of disobedience, revolt and revolution. An honourable member seems to dispute this connection of the State Congress to the students outburst. If proof is necessary to this fact which no honest man can deny, I will draw the attention of the House to the statement issued by the first lady Dictator-President of the State Congress calling upon the students to strike, to come out of the schools and not to pay fees. Does not the fact that this very adjournment motion is moved and seconded by the State Congress party, circumstantially prove that they at least sympathised with those mischiefs of the students.

The mover of this motion has told us that normally the educational authorities of Travancore have been allowing their students to associate for legitimate purposes. But he does not seem to have seriously thought of the reasons that have compelled the authorities to stand in the way of the proposed federation of the students. It is a pity that the mover conveniently forgets the immediate impulse and circumstances that have prompted them to form this federation. It has certainly its origin in the part the students played in the recent political disturbance. This federation will certainly be directed and guided, engineered and made use of by the State Congress. And what is that association at present? One need not hesitate to call it revolutionary and subversive. I do not say that the desire to attain responsible Government is in itself revolutionary. But about the method the State Congress adopts to achieve their object, it is certainly revolutionary and subversive. They are for civil disobedience. Any organised attempt to disobey the civil laws of the country is certainly revolutionary. It is the case of the Travancore State Congress itself, it is only an edition of the Indian National Congress printed in our State; and the Indian National Congress is certainly a revolutionary body. The charge of the leftists' section of the Indian National Congress against the rightists' is that the latters' methods have a tendency to rid the Congress of its revolutionary spirit and aims. The Indian National Congress may have its own reasons and justification to form itself into a revolutionary body. What is after all the objective of that Congress? To drive away the English from India and to get independence. In British India the issue is the freeing of the country from foreign domination. Democracy and responsible Government may be things to be evolved in course of time and autocracy and the monarch's personal rule may be a necessary stage in the political evolution of countries. But subjection to a foreign rule need not necessarily be a stage in constitutional evolution. Hence, for attaining the freedom of one's country one may be forced to be a revolutionary. The Indian National Congress' non-violence, civil disobedience and civil resistance are only virtues of necessity though there may be high idealists among them who believe that non-violent sathiagraha is a panacea for all political evils. The House will remember that Indians are a disarmed and unarmed nation, and even if they wish they have not the weapons to face the Imperial armaments of the British. In the case of British India it is patriotism that is the impulsive motive.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

[Mr. N. V. Joseph.]

On the other hand in a Native State where an Indian Maharaja rules, in a fight of the subject for the attainment of responsible government, patriotism has no place. Both the Prince and the people are patriotic alike. Here it is only a question of arrangement within the family. Patriotism comes into play only where there are foreign factors. Hence my contention is that the methods adopted in British India are not suitable in Native States. Consequently the revolutionary methods which our State Congress copies from the Indian National Congress are out of place here. When I say it is a revolutionary body you should not take it that I mean that our State Congress has already manifested all the forms of a revolutionary body. A human being's life starts from the cradle and ends in the grave in stages of development.

Any association of the students with our State Congress cannot but make them revolutionaries and more dangerous revolutionaries than the State Congress people. I am certain that the students that threw the mud and stones in important places and made outbursts and bawled out "Inquilab Zindabad" would not have hesitated to use swords and machine guns if they had them in hand. What have the students to do with these things? I ask in all earnestness and gravity. Their function is to learn. To disseminate a spirit of revolt and disobedience among them is highly injurious to the country. I do not know whether the honourable mover and the seconder of this motion have grown up children. They are too young-excuse me-to have grown up school-going children; and I can personally testify to the heart burnings and anxieties carried in the country by the recent outbursts of student revolt. It has diffused such an atmosphere of revolutionary spirit among the student population that I am really anxious about the future of our social and family structure. The mover of this resolution says that it is the legitimate and elementary right of the students to federate. For what purpose? I ask. We should not take terms and phrases at their absolute values. Values are invariably relative in this world of limitations. Are we to allow the students to federate, to assert their rights against their educational authorities? The idea is simply preposterous. Is the relation between the teacher and student of a contractual nature as it is between labour and capital? Do the educational authorities function to exploit the students? What is the teacher to gain at the expense of the student? Are we to allow our children to form associations and federations to assert their rights against parents? Woe be to the society that concedes that liberty. The student's birth-right against educational authorities! I do confess I do not understand what these people actually mean. In my view a student should always be—I mean all the twenty-four hours—under the guidance, or direction or supervision of the parents or guardians or educational authorities. Is it not the legitimate and elementary right of a man to lodge where he wants, and to board where he pleases? If this is also the right of a student as a human being, why on earth, I ask, you insist on having hostels and boardings and supervision by school authorities. I believe these are elementary prin-

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

ciples. It is not only the right but also the duty of the educational authorities to guide and control the students in everything--in the books they read, in the games they play, in the dress they put on, in the companions they mingle with. The thoughts and thinking of the students too should be guided by the educational authorities. If that is the relation to be maintained between the students and educational authorities I wonder how we can sympathise with the attempt of our students to form a federation to assert their rights against the educational and constituted authorities. It is impossible to forget so soon what had happened in our State during the past few months. I thought the students had all got high temperature in those days. So if the proposed federation is not yet banned by the educational authorities, I will appeal from the floor of this House, not only to ban it but to severely penalise it.

Sir, one generation of students is already spoiled. Whether you give us responsible government or not, for God's sake, spare the country from this calamity. If this spirit of revolt and disobedience among the students is not nipped in the bud, I can prophesy that, not only this generation, but many a coming generation will get spoiled. I will therefore request the authorities to stand firm and control the students. Sir, with these words, I oppose the motion.

MR. KAINIKKARA M. PADMANABHA PILLAI: I oppose the adjournment motion. In doing so I do not think it necessary to enter deeply into the question as to whether students can be allowed to take part in politics or not. I do not think it necessary either to analyse the past incidents and place the responsibility for them on the State congress. Again, I do not think it necessary to describe in detail the extremely disgraceful and disorderly life led by the students during the past few months. Even if I am prepared to concede all these points favourably to the mover of the adjournment motion this motion cannot stand. Even if Messrs K. T. Bashyam and Sarath Chandra Bose are turned into educational authorities it cannot stand. It cannot stand for the simple reason that it is based on a stupidly fallacious presumption that there has been a ban. But the fact is that there has been no ban. I asked the honourable mover of the motion whether he would enlighten me as to what the ban was, the authority that made the ban and the nature of the ban. He told me that he was not prepared to answer me. Sometimes bluff is a sweet way of hiding ignorance. When the honourable member was wasting the time of the House on an adjournment motion based on an absurdity and when the mistake was pointed out to him, he might in courtesy have answered my questions. At least when a suggestion was thrown to that gentleman, he might have had the intelligence to be benifitted by the hint. Anyhow, now I may inform the honourable member that he has been speaking nonsense pure and simple.

MR. K. NARAYANAPERUMAL NADAR: Sir, I rise to a point of order. The honourable member has used the word "nonsense". Is it parliamentary?

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

PRESIDENT: The word "nonsense" as applied to another honourable member is not parliamentary.

MR. KAINIKARA M. PADMANABHA PILLAI: I only meant that there was no sense and only in the meaning of no sense did I use the word nonsense.

PRESIDENT: The ruling of the Chair must be obeyed.

MR. KAINIKKARA M. PADMANABHA PILLAI: Because it is unparliamentary I do not use it. The whole thing was an illusion and a mistake. The Pro-Vice-Chancellor has explained what took place in the Syndicate. All that the Syndicate did was to say that they could not recognise the Students' Federation. They had openly said that their purpose was to crush the University. They said "We stand for crushing you. You please recognise us". The Syndicate said "All right, dear friends we cannot shake hands with you, cannot make you our bedmates". That is all what we said. Of course I am not surprised in Mr. Kurup making this mistake. There was a time when the State Congress people were leading the students in this country. There was a time when the State Congress leaders and leaders of the students were making sacrifices for what they considered to be right. When those things were taking place, Mr. Kurup had safely retreated into a cocoon. The misfortune is that today we have only three State Congress members in this hall and when the agitation was at its height all these three gentlemen were hiding behind curtains. So naturally they have not understood what was taking place. If Mr. Pattom Thanu Pillai or Mr. Varghese were here, they would not have moved this motion because they know the facts. Now Mr. Kurup gets out of his hiding place and comes forward with a motion and wastes our time. I only wish to inform the house that the educational authorities take a deeper interest in education and in the life of the students than Mr. Kurup or any friend of his. I oppose the motion.

MR. M. K. MACKAR PILLAI സർ, ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെപ്പററി സംസാരിക്കുമ്പോൾ എന്റെ അനുഭവത്തിൽപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുള്ള ഒന്നോരണ്ടു സംഗതികൾ കൂടി പറയണമെന്നു ഞാൻ വിചാരിക്കുന്നു. കഴിഞ്ഞ അസംബ്ലിയോഗം കഴിഞ്ഞു ഞാൻ ആലുവായിൽ എത്തിയപ്പോൾ അവിടെ വിദ്യാർത്ഥികളുടെയിടയിൽ ഒരു സ്ട്രൈക്ക് ഉണ്ടായി. അവിടെ പ്രിപ്പാറട്ടറിക്ലാസിൽ പഠിക്കുന്ന ഫ 0 വയസ്സായ ഒരു കുട്ടി പതിവായി പള്ളിക്കൂടത്തിൽ പോകുന്നതും വരുന്നതും മററു കുട്ടികളുടെ കൂടെയാണ്. ഒരു ദിവസം അയാൾ പതിവായിവരുന്ന സമയത്തു് സ്കൂൾ വിട്ടിട്ട് വന്നില്ല. ഒടുവിൽ അന്വേഷിക്കാൻ വന്ന ചേർന്നതു. താമസിച്ചു ചെല്ലാനുള്ള കാരണം എന്താണെന്നു ചോദിച്ചപ്പോൾ മററു കുട്ടികളെല്ലാം ഒരുമിച്ച് ഒരു ഘോഷയാത്രപോയി എന്നുപറഞ്ഞു. എന്തിനുപോയി? ഞങ്ങളുടെ പ്രതിഷേധം കാണിക്കാൻ. എന്തിനാണ് പ്രതിഷേധം? അതു ഞങ്ങളുടെ അളുകളെ തല്ലിച്ചു. അതു തല്ലിച്ചു? സി. പി. സി. ചി. അ

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

താണ്? അതറിഞ്ഞുകൂടാ. (ചിരി) നിങ്ങൾ പോലീസ് സ്റ്റേഷനിൽ പോയി കല്ലെറിഞ്ഞതെന്തിന്? അതു ഞങ്ങളുടെ പ്രതിഷേധം കാണിക്കാൻ പോലീസുകാർ നിങ്ങളെ തല്ലുകയില്ലേ? ഞങ്ങളും തല്ലും. ഇങ്ങനെയുള്ള ഒരു വിചാരം കുട്ടികളുടെ മനസ്സിൽ ഉണ്ടായിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഇതിനെല്ലാം കാരണം ആലുവാ യൂണിയൻ കാളേജിലെ ചിലവിദ്യാർത്ഥികളാണ്. ഇതിൽ പ്രായമായ കുട്ടികളും, ഡിസ് ലായൽ എന്നോ സബ് വെർസിവു എന്നാ ഒന്നും ഞാൻ പറയുന്നില്ലെങ്കിലും അവരൊക്കെ തെമ്മാടികളാണ്. (ചിരി)

ഈ ഘോഷയാത്രക്കാർ, മലയാളം പള്ളിക്കൂടത്തിലും പെൺ പള്ളിക്കൂടത്തിലും ഒക്കെ പോയി ബഹളമുണ്ടാക്കി. മി. പട്ടം താണുപിള്ളക്കും, മി. ടി. എം. വർഗീസിനും കീജേയ് വിളിച്ചു. ഇതൊക്കെ കഴിഞ്ഞതിനുശേഷം ദേശസേവകന്മാർ എന്നും ദേശസേവികമാർ എന്നും ചിലർവന്നു. ഇതിനൊക്കെ കാരണം ഗവണ്മെൻറു കർശനമായി നടപടി നടത്താത്തതാണ്. യൂറോപ്പിൽ മഹായുദ്ധകാലത്തുവാർബേബീസു ഉണ്ടായതുപോലെ ഇവിടെ എത്രകാൺഗ്രസു ബേബീസാണുണ്ടാക്കാൻ പോകുന്നതെന്നറിഞ്ഞുകൂടാ. ഇതുയും പ്രസ്താവിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു ഞാൻ ഈ മോഷനെ എതിർത്തുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

MR. M. SIVATHANU PILLAI: Sir, I rise to a point of order. Are those remarks of Mr. T. C. Kesava Pillai relevant to the issue before the House?

PRESIDENT: The honourable member will confine his remarks to the discussion before the House.

MR. T. C. KESAVA PILLAI: തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലെ ഒരു പ്രജയാണ് ഞാനും എന്നോമ്മയോടുകൂടി സംസാരിക്കുകയാണു ഞാൻ. ആ നിലയിൽ മി: കൈനിക്കര പത്മനാഭപിള്ള പറഞ്ഞ അഭിപ്രായങ്ങളെ ഖണ്ഡിക്കേണ്ട ചുമതല എനിക്കുണ്ട്. ഭാവിസന്താനങ്ങളെ ഛീത്തയാക്കണമെന്നുള്ള ആഗ്രഹക്കാരനല്ല ഞാൻ. പ്രോവൈസ് ചാൻസലറുടെ സ്റ്റുഡൻറ്സ് ഫെഡറേഷനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചുള്ള അഭിപ്രായം കേട്ടിടത്തോളം ഇതിനെ അനുകൂലിക്കാൻ ഒരിക്കലും നിവൃത്തിയില്ല. പല വലിയ ആളുകളും വഴിതെറ്റിപ്പോയതുപോലെ ചെറിയ ആളുകളും വഴിതെറ്റിപ്പോയി എന്നേയുള്ളു. അതുകൊണ്ടു സ്റ്റേറ്റ്കാൺഗ്രസിലെ ഒരംഗമായ എൻറെ സ്നേഹിതൻ മി: കുറുപ്പിനോടു് എനിക്കു പറയുവാനുള്ളതു് നിങ്ങളുടെ ... ...

MR. M. SIVATHANU PILLAI: Sir, he is addressing the mover.

PRESIDENT: He is addressing the mover through me.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

MR. T. C. KESAVA PILLAI: സ്റ്റുഡൻറ്സ് ഫെഡറേഷൻ ഇന്ന താണെന്ന് പ്രോ വൈസ് ചാൻസ്ലർ ക്ലിപ്തപ്പെടുത്തി പറഞ്ഞതുകൊണ്ട് ഞാൻ ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ എതിർക്കുന്നു.

സർ, പല രാജ്യങ്ങളിലും വിപ്ലവങ്ങൾ നടക്കുക പതിവാണ്. തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലും സമീപകാലത്തു് പലപല പ്രസ്ഥാനങ്ങളും ഉൽഭവിച്ചു എങ്കിലും അവ ശക്തിയായി നിവൻ വരാതെ ശ്രീപത്മനാഭന്റെ പാദത്തിലെല്ലാം അടിപണിയുകയാണ് ചെയ്തതു്. "സംയുക്തം" എന്ന പേരോടുകൂടിയ ഒരു പിശാച് ഇങ്ങു വന്നു കയറി. അതിന്റെ ചില സിരകളെല്ലാം അറ്റു് അധോഗതിയായ പ്പോൾ, അതു വേറൊരു രൂപത്തിൽ തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലെ പൊതുരാഷ്ട്രീയ ക്ഷോഭം ഉണ്ടാകുമോ എന്നു തോന്നത്തക്ക രീതിയിൽ ഒരു വലിയ പ്രസ്ഥാനമായിത്തീർന്നു. അതിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു് ചില അടിയന്തിരപ്രമേയങ്ങൾ കഴിഞ്ഞ അസംബ്ലിയിൽ വരികയും, അപ്പോഴെല്ലാം ഈശ്വരവിശ്വാസവും ഭക്തിയുമില്ലാത്തതുകൊണ്ടാണ് ഇങ്ങനെ വന്നതു് എന്നു ഞാൻ പറയുകയും ചെയ്തിരുന്നു. കല്ലേറിവരും, രക്തച്ചൊരിച്ചൽവരും, പോലീസുകാർ വഴിതെറ്റാതെ സൂക്ഷിക്കണമെന്നെല്ലാം ഞാൻ അന്നു പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുണ്ടു്. ഇതൊക്കെ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസമുണ്ടായിട്ടുതന്നെ കുറെകൊണ്ടു വന്നതാണെന്നാണ് എനിക്കു തോന്നുന്നതു്. നമുക്കു വിദ്യാഭ്യാസമുണ്ടെന്നു സമ്മതിക്കാം. സ്വാഭാവികമായി കോഴിമുട്ട അടവച്ചു കുഞ്ഞുണ്ടാക്കുന്നതുപോലെ മാർത്താണ്ഡം വൈ. എം. സി. എ. യിൽ കൃത്രിമമായി മുട്ടയും കൂട്ടി കൊടുത്തു് കോഴിക്കുഞ്ഞിനെ ഉണ്ടാക്കുന്നുണ്ടു്. ഇത്തരത്തിൽ കൃത്രിമമായ രീതിയിലാണ് ഇവിടെ ഈശ്വരഭക്തി ഉണ്ടാക്കുന്നതു്. അതിൽ ആരെയും കുറ്റം പറഞ്ഞിട്ടാവശ്യമില്ല. ഇന്നതന്നെ യൂണിവേഴ്സിറ്റി സിൻഡിക്കേറ്റിലെ ഒരംഗം എന്ന നിലയിൽ ഈ സഭയിലെ ഒരംഗമായ മി: കൈനിക്കര പത്മനാഭപിള്ള ഈ സഭയിലെ മറ്റാരംഗത്തെപ്പറ്റി നികൃഷ്ടമായ ഭാഷയിൽ നടത്തിയ ഒരു വിമർശനം എന്നെ വളരെ സങ്കടപ്പെടുത്തുന്നുണ്ടു്. അദ്ദേഹം അതു പിൻവലിക്കണമെന്നു ഞാൻ താല്പര്യപ്പെടുന്നു. ഞാൻ സ്റ്റേറ്റ് കാൺഗ്രസ്സിനെ അഭിനന്ദിക്കുന്ന ഒരുത്തനല്ല. എന്റെ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലത്തിൽതന്നെ അനേക സ്റ്റേറ്റ് കാൺഗ്രസ്സ് പ്രധിനിധികളുണ്ടു്. സ്റ്റേറ്റുകാൺഗ്രസ്കാരായ എത്രാമത്തെ അംഗങ്ങളെ നാം ഇവിടെ തള്ളിനിറുത്തിയിരിക്കുന്നു.

മഹാത്മാഗാന്ധി ഒരിക്കൽ ഒന്നു പറയുന്നു, വേറൊരിക്കൽ വേറൊന്നു പറയുന്നു. നമുക്കു ഉത്തരവാദിത്വഭരണം വേണ്ട എന്നു ഞാൻ പറ

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

യുന്നില്ല. മഹാവിഷ്ണു, ഭക്തന്മാരെ ശത്രുക്കളായി ജനിച്ചാൽപോലും രക്ഷിക്കുന്നു. അതുപോലെ പൊന്നേതമ്പുരാനോടുനമുക്കാവശ്യമുള്ളതപേക്ഷിച്ചാൽ കിട്ടും. അതിനിടക്കൊട്ടുക്കാതെ വ്യക്തിവിദ്വേഷവും കക്ഷിപ്പിണക്കവും ഉണ്ടാക്കുന്ന വ്യക്തികളെ ഞാൻവെറുക്കുകയാണു ചെയ്യുന്നതു്. സ്റ്റേറ്റ്കാൺഗ്രസ് അംഗങ്ങൾ ഇപ്പോൾ വഴിതെറ്റിപ്പോകുന്നതെങ്കിലും അവർ നേർവഴിക്കു വന്നു മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സിലെ തൃപ്പാദങ്ങളിൽ അഭയം പ്രാപിക്കുമെന്നു ഞാനാശിക്കുന്നു.

MR. M. L. JANARDHANAN PILLAI: Sir, I move that the question be now put.

The motion was put and carried.

MR. N. NARAYANA KURUP: Sir, the object of my motion was just to bring to the notice of the House, the public dissatisfaction at the suppression of the elementary right of students to associate into a Federation. But two of the honourable members, the old *nivarthana champions*, namely Messrs N. V. Joseph and Kainikkara Padmanabha Pillai, had been very unkind towards me for that sin of intimation. Mr. Padmanabha Pillai, who said that he alone had the monopoly of speaking sense for the past two or three years, was saying that if Messrs Pattom and T. M. Varghese were here, they would not have moved this motion. To that, my reply is that if Mr. Padmanabha Pillai was not the General Inspector of Grant in-aid Schools of a particular institution, he would not have opposed this motion, in a language unworthy of his position in this House. He was asking me, whether I am aware of any ban, and if so, whether I know the nature of the ban. Being a member of our University Syndicate, I am sure that he was not ignorant of the ban and the nature. The Pro-Vice Chancellor admitted that in consultation with the Syndicate, he advised—I may say—commanded, that students should not join the Federation. My friend was complaining that I did not answer him. If he were to pretend ignorance, I am not bound to answer.

Honourable member, Mr. Janardanan Pillai, also remarked that when leaders of State Congress and Students' Federation visited Alleppey, the students left the schools before time, to attend the meetings; and in meetings they were advised to leave the schools. I deny all his allegations. No meeting was held before 5 o'clock on those occasions. No advice to leave the schools and college was given.

MR. M. L. JANARDHANAN PILLAI: I said only the organisers of the Students' Federation.

MR. N. NARAYANA KURUP: In fact, the leaders of the State Congress were always advising students not to participate actively in politics, but to mind their studies. If students of mature thought and age, expressed their opinion on live political matters, at a time, when, their parents, relations and friends were incarcerated in jails, they themselves had to suffer assaults at the hands of police for their

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

enthusiasm in cheering a particular party whose opinion they favoured, is the State Congress to be blamed I ask? I do not know why the names of the leaders of the State Congress are drawn into this discussion, in their absence, by those who are unworthy of even mentioning their names.

From the nature of the discussion, Sir, I also think as some of my friends said—and rightly they said—that I am attending a Rump—Parliament—a Parliament from where all opposition has been removed.

PRESIDENT: Before the question is put to the vote of the House, under Standing Order 24, I propose to exercise my right to say a few words on this matter; because, I consider that this subject is one of paramount importance to the State. It is not a small matter as certain honourable members seem to think; it is a matter which, in the opinion of the Government and of myself, is bound up with the orderly existence of the State. In speaking to this honourable House, let me repeat, though it may favour some autobiography, let me repeat, what I told Mr. Basheer who came to interview me on behalf of the Federation. I spoke to him as one who has got 25 years of educational experience in one University. I spoke to him as one who represented an educational institution of great importance *viz.*, the Senate of the University of Madras; I spoke to him as one who had spent from his own purse not thousands and tens of thousands but lakhs of rupees for the benefit of students. I said to him, to Mr. Basheer, who came to me on behalf of the Students' Federation, that, in no part of the civilized world were students allowed to conduct political demonstrations. He then referred to China. We know what is happening in China. He then said: "Supposing, Sir, we feel that your political conduct is deserving condemnation, should we not say so?" I pointed out to him that it is within the right of every student to discuss politics, but only within the walls of his college or school. There, I said, even controversial politics can be discussed among themselves, not only I say, questions of responsible government, but also questions on bolshevism, communism, expropriation and abolition of property. In the academic manner, in the academic atmosphere and in academic surroundings, subject to academic influence, these matters, even other burning questions of political and topical interest, can be discussed freely among students. But to come out into the street and the market place and take part in those activities which would undoubtedly bring them in contact and sometimes into collision with the authorities, with people who assert and enforce the supremacy of the State, cannot be allowed.

When the question of the Oxford Union was mentioned by Mr. Basheer, I said that, no doubt, academical authorities in England, France and America have given a great latitude to students, but they never contemplated students coming out of their colleges or schools, and taking part in controversial politics. Mr. Basheer and another gentleman—I think his name was Stephen—who came on behalf of the

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Federation, said that they were appealing to me to do them justice. They said that they retained the right of criticism, the right to criticise the acts of the administration. I told them that it was perfectly legitimate for them to criticise Government within their college walls. But if they wanted to do that outside, as students, they could not. But there are two methods open to them if they wanted to criticise Government and enter into controversial politics. They must come out of their colleges and enroll themsslves as members of that political organisrtion if that organisation would take them. But I pointed out to them that no sane, rational and self-respecting political organisation would take young people with immature power of understanding to take part in political activities which they consider are for promoting the country's cause. Before acceding to their request I wanted from them an undertaking that they would not enter into any open fight with the constituted authority. They said that it was not possible for them to do so. But they told me that they would think over my propositions and send a formal reply in two days. And I have waited for two months, no reply has come. This is the genesis of the whole matter so far as the ban is concerned.

So long as students are not willing to submit themselves to the elementary, self-denying part of their life as students, they are not fit to enjoy the privileges specially belonging to them. Whilst they were students they must first learn to make themselves fit for the struggles in life, political or otherwise. For, after all, student life is a period of preparation, a period of apprenticeship. It is a period of life intended for the purpose of enabling the student to grow healthier and stronger, just as a tree in its young stage has to be tended and nourished to make it grow taller, stronger and wider, and ought not to be stimulated and forced into unnatural ways.

What about primary and secondary school boys who are below eight, nine or eleven and, who too can be members of this Federation? (*Laughter.*), a boy of eleven or twelve claiming the right to criticise the action of Government? That is as good as minors being led into crooked paths without the consent of their parents. Is this just and right? I ask the exponents of this creed, of this Federation.

Now, the question before the House is this. Does this House favour minors, both boys and girls, with premature power of understanding, being led into politics of a controversial character? Or, would this House endorse the other proposition which finds favour in every civilized community in the world that a small boy or a young girl should be left unhampered to learn to make himself or herself fit for the struggle in life, ahead of them, and merely to form opinions on politics for the purpose of translating those opinions into practise later on? Are we to force the growth of students in any unnatural way? That is the problem before this House.

The motion was put to the vote of the House and lost.

MR. K. NARAYANAPERUMAL NADAR: Sir, I demand a poll.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

A poll was taken and the House divided as follows:—

AYES—2.

1 N. Narayana Kurup
2 K. Narayanaperumal Nadar

NOES—50.

1 Mr. Kottalil P. Abraham
2 ,, P. C. Adichan
3 Sahib Bahadur V. Chandamiah
4 Mr. S. Chattanatha Karayalar
5 ,, M. L. D'Cruz
6 Srimati K. Devaki Antharjanam
7 Mr. E. E. Pandarathil
8 ,, D. Francis
9 ,, M. Govinda Pillai
10 ,, M. L. Janardana Pillai
11 ,, M. P. Joseph
12 ,, N. John Joseph
13 ,, N. V. Joseph
14 ,, Joseph Vithayathil
15 ,, K. C Karunakaran
16 ,, M. Kesava Panickar
17 ,, T. C. Kesava Pillai
18 ,, T. T. Kesavan Sastri
19 ,, K. P. Kochukora Tharakan
20 ,, Kaviyoor K. Kochukunju
21 ,, S. Krishna Aiyar
22 ,, Puthupalli S. Krishna Pillai
23 ,, Thariatu Kunjithommen
24 ,, K. G Kunjukrishna Pillai
25 Sahib Bahadur M. K. Mackar Pillai
26 Mr. P. V. Mathai Chemparathy
27 ,, S. Narayana Pillai
28 ,, P. G. Narayanan Unnithan
29 ,, R. Narayanan Namboori
30 Srimati T. Narayani Amma
31 Mr. M. K Nilakanta Aiyar
32 ,, Kainikkara M. Padmanabha Pillai
33 ,, K. P. Padmanabha Menon
34 ,, P Parameswaran Pillai
35 ,, J. E. A. Pereira
36 Mrs. M Poonen Lukose
37 Mr. N. Ramakrishna Pillai
38 ,, Codiveetil C. Ramankunju
39 ,, M. Ramiah Pillai
40 ,, M. Ramachandra Rao
41 ,, P. Sivarama Pillai
42 ,, M Sivathanu Pillai
46 ,, E. Subramonia Aiyar
44 ,, G B. E. Truscott
45 ,, E. P. Varghese
46 ,, Puliyoor T. P. Velayudhan Pillai
47 ,, N. Velu Achary
48 ,, P. Vivekanandam
49 Dr. C. R. Harler
50 Mr. P. Narayana Pillai

NEUTRAL—1.

Mr. K. R. Narayanan.

The motion was declared lost.

Trivandrum
1939

A. GUNAMANI,
Secretary Sri Mulam Assembly.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly